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Sarakatsani EH14

/For additional information on the seasonal migrations of the Sarakatsani with their flocks,
see category 233./

[p. 1]

I

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL
INTRODUCTION

1. VLACHS

IN continental Greece north of Corinth the observant traveller is soon aware of communities of Greek-speaking transhumant shepherds known as Sarakatsani (Σαρακατσάνοι, or Σαρακατσαναῖοι). In the plains it is unnecessary even to leave the main roads to see small groups of circular, domed, huts of wood and thatch, or flocks of sheep and goats guarded by shepherds dressed in rough black suits and immense goat-hair capes woven from the fleeces of their own animals. From May until the first days of November these semi-nomad shepherds graze their considerable flocks on the higher slopes of the mountains, generally 3,000-6,000 feet above sea level; during the remainder of the year they live in the coastal plains. Simple facts of climate and relief, snow on the high ground in winter, in the summer burning heat in the plains, encourage this transhumance in a geographical area physically dominated by the ranges of the Pindus massif and the southern extremity of the Rhodope mountains. Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace are the provinces in which they are most numerous but communities are found further south in continental Greece and some groups are established in the north of the Peloponnese and Euboea. In the whole of Greece their number, perhaps, approaches eighty thousand,¹ a population which was possibly absolutely greater a hundred years ago, but was certainly relatively more considerable as a fraction of the total inhabitants of the area.

The Greek villagers generally refer to the Sarakatsani simply as Vlachs (βλάχοι), that is shepherds who, in step with the rhythm of the seasons, lead their animals alternately down to the plains and up to the mountains. The occupational reference of the word Vlach² is an old one, already in use during the Byzantine period.

¹ Mme Chatzimichalis arrives at a total of 81,473. Ἀγγελοῦ Χατζιμίχ. χάλη, Σαρακατσάνοι, Athens, 1957, vol. i, Part A, p. vñ. [113]

² See e.g. Anna Comnena, Ed. Bonn., i, p. 395. One of a number of references quoted by Mme Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. w'.

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Byzantine period. But it may also be used, in its original and more specific sense, to describe Koutsovlachs (Κουτσοβλάχοι) an ethnic minority group speaking a romance language akin to Rumanian, or the related groups of Albanian Vlachs (Αρβαντοβλάχοι) who are trilingual, speaking the Koutsovlach language as their mother tongue and Greek and Albanian for political and commercial reasons. These different connotations of the word, Vlach, have led to some confusion, which has been all the greater because many Koutsovlachs lead a transhumant shepherd life, identical in its general outline with that of the Sarakatsani. To the uninitiated eye they may appear to dress alike, to build the same type of thatched hut, and many of their communities graze their flocks in areas of the Pindus mountains neighbouring on those used by the Sarakatsani. The result has been that many nineteenth-century travellers, and even some Greek observers, failed to realize the existence of the Sarakatsani and imagined that all 'nomad' shepherds were Koutsovlachs of one kind or another.

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But although many Koutsovlachs are transhumant shepherds, many are not. For instance, in the eastern half of the Zagori district in Epirus, a majority of the Koutsovlach villagers make their living from timber and agriculture. Probably since the sixteenth century² a considerable number of Koutsovlachs have been established in their own villages in the high Pindus. They have pretensions to culture, and for generations sons of rich Koutsovlach families have been prepared for commerce, politics, and the professions. In these respects the Koutsovlachs differ from the Albanian Vlachs who, in so far as they continue to be recognized as 'Albanian', are generally concerned only with shepherding. Some of these Albanian Vlachs have grazing areas close to the Albanian frontier which until 1930 they were able to cross in their search for winter pastures.

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With both these ethnic minority groups, Koutsovlachs and Albanian Vlachs, the Sarakatsani are culturally contrasted. They speak only Greek; their values, institutions, and art forms are in many respects markedly dissimilar from those of the Koutsovlachs and Albanian Vlachs. They themselves claim that the klephtic heroes Katsandonis and Karaïskakis were

² See A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans*, London, 1914, p. 147.

³ [i.e., The term "Vlachs" -- Analyst]

THE SARAKATSANI OF ZAGORI

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2. THE SARAKATSANI OF ZAGORI

The community of Sarakatsan shepherds which I describe in this study numbers about 4,000 souls.¹⁸ In summer they are found in Zagori, a mountainous district north-east of the town of Jannina on the western limits of the Pindus range in the province of Epirus. Here they graze their sheep and goats from May until the early days of November; or as they would calculate it, between the feast-days of St. George and St. Demetrius which mark their seasonal migrations between plain and mountain (and are celebrated according to the old Julian calendar, that is, on the 6th May and the 8th November by the new calendar). In each Zagori village with high grasslands there is a local gathering of Sarakatsan families which exploit the grazing land of the community and add to it a summer population of 100-300 men, women, and children. Since 1938 the majority of these shepherd families have enjoyed the same citizenship and grazing rights as the sedentary villagers of Zagori from whom previously they had to rent their pastures. There are 152,000 sheep and goats in the Zagori of which 85,000 sheep and 13,000 goats belong to the Sarakatsani.¹⁹ Although the eastern villages of the district are Koutsovlach in speech and sentiment very few of their inhabitants are, any longer, transhumant shepherds, and the pastures of these villages are used by the Sarakatsani, who indeed occupy almost all the higher pastures of the district, grazing their flocks on the lands of 30 of the 43 villages which today constitute Zagori; the remaining villages are low lying (where it is easier to keep animals throughout the year), or they are without extensive areas of grass.

In the winter the community is more widely dispersed. The Sarakatsani move down from the mountains to the coastal plains and valleys over an area which extends from the Albanian frontier as far south as the towns of Arta and Preveza and even beyond.

¹⁸ There are no census details for the Sarakatsani as such. And police restriction on my movements prevented me from carrying out a complete survey of all the sheep villages in Zagori. However, on the basis of my own incomplete figures and information supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture for pastoralism in Zagori generally, this figure is most unlikely to be far from the truth.

¹⁹ Thus there are 24.5 sheep and goats per head of population among the Zagori Sarakatsani.

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221 beyond. Here many of the shepherds have no grazing rights and they must rent pasture sometimes at great cost from village communities or private individuals. Since the first world war the settlement of refugees and more intensive farming techniques have progressively reduced the area of grassland in the plains. Each year the search for winter grass by the Sarakatsani becomes wider and more desperate. But quite apart from the greater geographical dispersion of the community in winter, the problems of weather and lambing isolate the shepherds of each flock whose only concern during these months is the care of their animals. In summer, although the Sarakatsani are still dispersed over 390 square miles of mountainous country, there is time to visit kinsmen who live at a distance, weddings and festivals are celebrated, and in general there is a greater awareness of the community and its life. Winter in the plains is a kind of exile; the return in spring to the mountains of Zagori is the return home.

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593 The pattern of social groupings in this community is extremely simple. The most restricted unit is the most important. This is the family, whether in its elementary or extended form. To this small group the individual owes almost exclusively his or her time, energy, and loyalties. However, the family group is normally unable to manage its flocks without some assistance from outside and, in these circumstances, two, three, or more families related by kinship or marriage, associate to form 'a company' (παρέα), or stani (στάνη)²⁰, which for functional reasons must include at least four adult males and generally numbers between 15 and 50 persons of all ages. But the duties which the individual assumes as a member of the 'company' are specific and have an obvious relation to the welfare of his family. The relationship between the constituent families of the group is contractual; any family may elect to leave the association whenever it wills, any family may be expelled by the decision of the other members. Apart from this participation in a group of co-operating and related families, the shepherd normally has no membership in other social groupings which might conflict with his exclusive duties to the family.

²⁰ I shall employ these terms interchangeably, generally using 'company' when the emphasis is on the relations of co-operation between the constituent families of the group, and 'stani' when the context refers to the undifferentiated group with its huts, flocks, and grazing land.

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precipices and tend to 'lean over' towards the west. Thus, in general, the western slopes of the Pindus, as in parts of Zagori, present an extremely difficult terrain over which movement is not easy. Many of the valleys are narrow and steep-sided and the two principal rivers Aóös and Vikos lie in deep and formidable ravines. The canyon of Vikos is a remarkable natural feature 4,000 ft. in depth.

The most important sheep grazing area of the Zagori is the Gamila feature whose highest peak is 8,140 ft. above sea level. On the higher slopes of this mountain the important sheep villages of Papingo, Tsepelevo, Kapesovo, Vradeto, and Skamneli, to mention only the villages on its western flank, graze 33,000 sheep and goats. The rocks of this mountain, as of the other high peaks in Zagori, are of limestone formation; but the smaller features and the valleys are mostly rocks of sandstone.

At the contact lines between the permeable limestone and the sandstone there are often springs and streams fed by the melting snows and the abundant rain, for this is the wettest area of Greece with, in places, an annual rainfall of 50 inches. The limestone slopes produce a sparse but fine grass which the shepherds claim is the best grazing for the milking or pregnant ewe. On some of the lower slopes in the eastern Zagori, especially those which face eastwards, there are considerable forests of silver fir and Corsican pine and a grass which is more luxuriant. The shepherds, however, prefer the thin grasses of the open limestone slopes, and comparative figures of milk yields appear to support this preference.

The more important grazing villages of the Zagori are situated 3,000-4,000 ft. above sea level and the pastures are generally found above the village to an altitude sometimes as high as 6,000 ft. Snow falls on the higher pastures as early as the first days in November and the villages themselves are often deep in snow from Christmas until the middle of March. These are the physical and climatic conditions which lead to the transhumant economy—abundant and, generally, well watered summer grasslands with maximum day temperatures which seldom exceed 80°F. in the village, or 70°F. on the higher pastures, but snow and bitter cold which force the shepherds to take their animals to the plains in winter. In the higher villages of Zagori a few sheep and goats are kept under cover during the

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winter, but there is neither enough hay nor sufficient stending to attempt this on any considerable scale. Similarly, villagers in the plains may keep some sheep through the summer despite a smothering heat and parched grazing. But the condition of these animals is meagre.

Yet it was the Sarakatsani rather than the people of Zagori who exploited, and continue to exploit, these pastoral resources of grass and water; and this is a fact that has to be explained on historical grounds.

The Turks under Sinan Pasha captured Jannina in 1430, and that part of Epirus which now lies between the Albanian frontier and the town of Arta remained an Ottoman possession until its cession to Greece as recently as 1913. From the earliest period of the occupation a majority of these lands were divided into military fiefs. The fief-holders, tenants-in-chief, in exchange for certain military commitments enjoyed the revenue from a number of taxes including the tithe of one-tenth, but the cultivators, mainly Christians, possessed a right of secure tenure in their land which lapsed only if they did not cultivate it over a period of three years. From time to time, however, and by various methods (often through the expropriation of the rights of peasants who had fallen into debt), fiefs were converted into private properties, chiftliks, on which the villagers became métayers, conceding half the produce of their cultivations to the landowner and possessing no certain rights of tenure which the latter did not choose to recognize.

The villages of Zagori, however, succeeded not only in defending their limited rights as Christian villagers in military fiefs but also in persuading the Turks to grant them other and more important privileges. By the eighteenth century the forty-six villages had developed a confederate alliance. Each village elected a representative to a council which in turn appointed a general intendant for Zagori who was established in Jannina as administrator of the confederation's affairs in liaison with the Ottoman authorities. There were three essential privileges which it was the task of this representative to defend; the right of the confederation to collect and deliver to the imperial government taxes owed by the member villages (other than the dues payable to the fief-holders); the right of Zagori villages to administer their own affairs, to hear cases of civil law between

233 grazing areas permit the arrangement, four or five milking pens
[234] of different stanis may be conveniently within sight of the cheese-
maker's hut.

[232] Summer is not entirely without its anxieties. In June the
rams are allowed to run with the milking ewes, each ram, on
average, covering twenty-five ewes. An early and successful
mating season (μαρχάλος) is important because it promises few
sterile ewes, lambing before the hard winter weather sets in, and
earlier supplies of milk. Before the end of July the cheese-
maker departs, and the shepherds begin to enjoy a period of
[234] relative ease. What milk the ewes continue to give during the
early days of August before lactation finally ceases, is used, like
the milk that is taken before the first of February and during
the ten days of the journey to the mountains, to make a rough
'feta' cheese for the family's own use.

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233 The needs of the sheep in a particular physical and political
● 221 environment, and the arrangements made by the Sarakatsani
474 to meet them, have certain consequences for Sarakatsan social
361 life. One of these concerns seasonal differences. In the winter
591 the community is geographically more dispersed, stanis travel
far in different directions to find their winter grass and very
often they do not have other Sarakatsani as their immediate
neighbours. On the other hand the stani itself is physically more
concentrated. A sheep requires only a quarter of an acre of
good grass in the plain as against half an acre or more in the
mountains. The stani is turned in on its own affairs. The huts of
the stani are on the grazing land and the group of families is
concerned almost exclusively with the problems of lambing,
milk, and the protection of the animals against cold and wolves.
In the summer, for reasons which have been mentioned in the
previous chapter, stanis are generally smaller, and sometimes
may be no larger than a single family. The stani is also dis-
persed. The families live in houses or huts in the village, the
shepherds with the two flocks of sheep and the goats are far
above the village, and are separated from one another. Yet the
community itself is more concentrated than in winter. In the
local group of families that graze the land of the same village,
the huts or houses of the different families are in sight and often

THE SHEPHERDS

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sound of one another. And although the grazing areas high above the village are spatially more extensive than in winter, they are, however, overstocked. Shepherds have a common grazing boundary with the sheep of two or three other stani on whose grass they systematically trespass. Between families unconnected by kinship or marriage, relations, acted out during these months in terms of reciprocal hostility and theft, are more intense than in winter. Summer, indeed, is the time for quarrels. It is also the season of festivals. It is true that, if the total community is less dispersed than in winter, this is a relative difference since it is still disposed over an area of some 390 square miles. But summer shepherding conditions allow shepherds the possibility of visiting kinsmen who live at a distance. At weddings and village festivals kinsmen are able to meet and exchange their news, and unrelated men have the opportunity to observe one another critically. In summer, generally, social exchanges whether friendly or hostile are both more frequent and more ardent.

Practical arrangements for the care of the flock have a further consequence. Personal and family honour and pride, which are fundamental values of the community, breed a spirit of intense and aggressive competitiveness that sometimes threatens even the relations of unmarried brothers, more commonly the co-operation between more distant kin in the same stani, and frequently provokes verbal or physical quarrels between shepherds unrelated by kinship or marriage. Yet the simple circumstance that within the one stani each shepherd is physically isolated, or with only a single companion, in the service of the different flocks which have been described, limits the potential moments of disharmony in the family and the stani. The animals allow their protectors no rest except when they sleep themselves; otherwise they must continually graze to remain alive and the shepherds must continually follow them because of the absence of fencing and the presence of wolves and sometimes of human thieves. Each shepherd is insulated, as it were, by his work. In the winter, moreover, the shepherds may be more or less isolated from contact with other unrelated shepherds since there is often no grazing boundary with another stani. In the summer, it is true, there may be common grazing boundaries with two or three different stanis across which shepherds face

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233 udder and that the ewe and lamb recognize one another by
 461 smell. For this reason, too, the sheep-fold must be moved to dry
 ground when it becomes fouled by mud and excrement since
 [232] this makes recognition by smell difficult. Sometimes when a
 ewe has a difficult delivery the shepherd must try to manipulate
 [136] the lamb into the correct position to ease its passage. At night,
 in bad weather, and with the ever present menace of wolves,
 these various operations are exceedingly difficult.

233 With the establishment on the first of February of the cheese-
 234 maker's station the ewes whose lambs have been weaned are
 461 milked twice a day at dawn and dusk. Any men of the stani,
 including the tselingas, who are not away with the other flocks,
 come to assist the two shepherds of the milking ewes. There is
 competition to discover who is the strongest milker, who draws
 off most milk into his bucket and milks the greater number of
 sheep without suffering cramp in his hands. But there is a more
 general anxiety about the total quantity of milk taken at each
 milking and the shepherds watch apprehensively for symptoms
 of a disease that attacks the udder and turns milk to water
 (παμπάρα). The Sarakatsani say that shepherds have a great
 σεβράς for lambing and milking, a word perhaps impossible to
 translate, which includes the ideas of love and longing, anxiety
 [254] and envy. It follows that the milking-pen is the part of the stani
 [289] most threatened by the evil eye of other shepherds, and also the
 part of the stani where the shepherds are careful to deploy
 different objects such as a viper's head or an egg dyed red on
 the Thursday of Easter week which have the power to neu-
 tralize this pervasive and destructive force of envy, as well as
 more direct attacks by the Devil.

233 The next demand upon the strength of the shepherd comes
 221 in the early days of May when the stani sets out for the moun-
 461 tains. This is a moment almost of festival. The sheep again
 carry their bells which are not worn in the winter. As well as
 their practical function of identifying the flock they express the
 joy of the stani that the difficult winter period is over and its
 pride in the appearance of its flock. But the journey itself is not
 [642] pleasurable for the shepherd. Particularly in recent years it has
 become difficult to find grazing on the road and there are hostile
 and sometimes violent encounters with villagers and agricul-
 tural guards. The sheep travel eight to ten miles each night on

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a road which is often congested with the flocks of other stanis. 233
In the dark and on ground he does not know the shepherd must 221
try to graze his sheep where he can, prevent them from mixing 461
with the animals of other flocks, and guard them from village (85)
or Sarakatsan thieves for whom the conditions are an oppor-
tunity and a temptation. At dawn they try to find some grass. 233
and here the mule-train (καρβάν) with the older men, women, 234
and children, overtakes them to prepare a temporary milking- 221
pen. After the animals have been milked the women at once 461
begin to turn the milk into cheese, and later to bake bread. [492]
Meanwhile the shepherds graze the sheep until about 11 a.m.
when the animals lie down to rest in the heat of the day. They
are milked again in the evening before setting out on the next
leg of their journey. But the women remain to make the cheese
for the second time in the day, and to take a few hours of sleep
before they move swiftly through the night to overtake the
sheep once again. After a journey of perhaps ten days they
finally reach their homeland, the high mountains of Zagori.

In the mountains shepherding practice changes. The sheep 233
graze at night in the cool air when their appetite is stronger. 234
At dawn the animals are watered and about 9 o'clock they are 461
milked. They then 'sleep in the shade' (σταλίζουν) until the late
afternoon when they are milked again before setting out to
graze in the fresh evening air. About once in every eight days 233
salt is spread on flat stones. They eat this greedily and are 461
watered immediately afterwards, a treatment which increases
their will to graze in the summer heat, and is believed to
strengthen them for successful mating.

The quality of physical courage, on which the Sarakatsani [597]
put so much emphasis in their list of the ideal attributes of the
shepherd, is perhaps more necessary in summer than winter.
Moving along, or over, the broken limestone ridges in the dark-
ness from one plateau of grass to another requires a very sure
foot and steady nerves. Sheep sometimes get into difficulties and
have to be rescued. If an animal falls into a crevasse and breaks
a leg it must be extricated, the limb bound and splinted, and
the animal carried down the mountain to the village.

Immediately before or after the migration to summer pas- 233
tures, the animals are shorn. Already at the end of March some 236
wool has been taken from their legs and haunches but the full 461

THE WOMEN

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A man may occasionally give his wife a kid 432
 to sell but otherwise chickens and eggs are her only source of 434
 cash income.

The huts which protect the Sarakatsani from the weather and 342
 the curiosity of other families, are of two principal kinds, circu- 462
 lar and domed (τουρλωτά), or rectangular and 'arched' (ἀψιδωτά).
 Except that in the case of rectangular huts the men help the
 women to erect the posts and crossbeams the building of the
 hut is entirely the work of women. They cut, select, and tie into
 position the pliable but strong branches which form the frame-
 work of the circular hut. They collect, dress, and tie on to the
 wooden skeleton the bundles of reeds, grasses, or ferns with
 which the hut is thatched. They level the floor inside and plas- 237
 ter both the floor and the walls to a height of three feet with a
 mixture of mud and mule-dung. They form the central hearth.
 Five or six women working continuously are able to erect a hut 461
 of conventional size⁴ in two to three days, although it will have 428
 taken them at least as many days to find and prepare their
 materials.

The treatment of the wool from which the Sarakatsani make 236
 the greater part of their clothing and all their blankets is also, 462
 naturally, in the hands of the women. The wool is divided into
 three categories according to the fineness and length of the
 staple. It is washed in hot water and beaten with a wooden
 implement to free it from surplus grease. After the wool has 283
 been dried in the sun and disentangled with a carding tool 236
 (λανάρι) it is spun by hand from a distaff (ρόξα). This is a
 lengthy process and when a woman's hands are not otherwise
 employed she is either spinning or knitting. Finally, the spun 286
 thread is woven into cloth on the simple wooden loom which the 227
 women operate continuously during the months of August and
 September when the flocks and the shepherds make fewer
 demands on their energies. On the loom are made the blankets,
 the shepherd's capes woven from a mixture of wool and goats'
 hair, and the cloth for jackets, skirts, and trousers. Today pro- 294
 fessional village or town tailors cut and sew the suits of the men,
 but the cloth remains their own. Only shoes, shirts, and cotton 291
 material (for the young girls' dresses at the summer festivals) are 432
 bought from the shops of Jannina and other towns.

⁴ A circular hut for a family of 6 or 7 adults generally has a diameter of
 14 or 15 feet. Height and diameter are approximately the same.

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648 Sarakatsani no longer had any rights to grazing which the village council did not choose to recognize. They were warned not to return in the autumn.

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648 The stani commissioned two patrons, who are influential lawyers in Jannina, to present their case to the Governor-General of the Epirus. Their plea was simply that their clients had nowhere to go; that they were simple men but easily tempted to violence in a crisis. In October the Nomarch (or Prefect) of Thesprotia was ordered to arrange for the compulsory admission of the shepherds to the same winter grazing. But the Nomarch (it was alleged) had received gifts from the villagers and did not wish to comply. He replied that the size of the villagers' own flocks made the administration of the order very difficult. Delay in correspondence and the endless discussion of practical difficulties are the time-honoured methods by which a junior officer in the hierarchy may evade the instruction of a senior official without becoming guilty of direct disobedience. But by late October the sheep were already on the road. The tselingas now appealed to his cheese merchant who suggested a present of fifty pounds to be passed by himself to his friend the Nomarch's Chief of Staff. It is impossible to say how this money was used, or if indeed it ever left the pocket of the merchant. But early in November, when the sheep had almost reached the village, an order was sent by the Nomarch to the President of the village that he must again receive the sheep of the Sarakatsani into the pastures.

It seems very probable that the relative success of this stani in facing these threats owes something to its size. If the stani had been smaller it is possible that the villagers would have resisted its initial lodgement in 1944 or that the later attempt to drive it out by force would have been more effective. It is certain that in 1954 the most impressive argument which their patrons were able to advance to the authorities was the simple fact that this large body of persons and animals had to be accommodated somewhere to avoid violence and political embarrassment. Furthermore, no stani of moderate size and resources could have easily afforded the expenses of these struggles in fees and bribes.

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221 The composition of co-operating 'companies' in the winter and summer pastures is not necessarily the same. Often those

THE 'COMPANY' OF RELATED FAMILIES 91

who are grouped together in a co-operative 'company' in the 474
 winter do not have their summer grazing rights at the same 233
 village. But, apart from this contingency, two factors which 221 ●
 lead to a modification in co-operative arrangements for the 621
 summer are first, that most families have secure grazing rights
 in the Zagori villages where their members are enrolled as
 citizens, and secondly, that in the summer a group which owns
 more than 200 sheep disposes them in two flocks instead of
 three through the amalgamation of the 'zigouria' with the
 'sterpha'. In summer the sheep do not require the same atten-
 tion that they do in winter; and at the end of July when the
 ewes cease to give any considerable quantity of milk a single
 shepherd is sufficient for the care of these animals. A family
 which would be unable to care for its own animals in winter
 and spring, under summer conditions is able to manage on its
 own. Whereas the 42 Sarakatsan households which spend the
 summer at Neochori form 18 sheep management units of one
 kind or another in the winter (including 4 families working as
 single households which are not extended families), in the sum-
 mer when they return to the mountains there are 25 groups, of
 which no less than 11 are single households. Indeed, one reason 571
 why Sarakatsani look forward to the summer is that, apart
 from the festivities it promises, many families enjoy the release
 of attending to their own affairs and their own animals after
 the restrictions, tensions, and self-discipline, which inevitably
 accompany arrangements in the co-operating 'company'. In
 general, only married brothers continue to work together in the
 summer when there is no practical necessity to do so.

But whatever the size of a co-operating group, the nature and 474
 method of its operations are the same. The sheep and goats are 233
 divided into flocks in the manner I have already described. It is
 generally considered that a flock of more than 250 sheep is not
 grazed with ease and efficiency. Therefore if a group has five
 or six hundred milking ewes, there will be two or even three
 separate flocks in this category. In these instances care is taken
 that every family in the stani has some of its animals in each
 flock. A flock of milking ewes is tended by two shepherds when
 this is possible, and these men are not normally members of the
 same family, an arrangement that is partly due to the division
 of labour within the family, but which also checks the possibility

THE SOLIDARITY OF THE FAMILY

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reputation for manliness of the victim's group which has driven ⁵⁹⁶ him there.

But if all the dead man's brothers are married, he is unlikely ⁵⁷⁷ to be avenged. A married brother's obligations to his own family ⁶²⁷ take precedence. If he were to kill the murderer he would be removed to prison, and afterwards would face exile or possible counter-vengeance. In either event his family would be deprived of its head at a time when the sons were almost certainly still children or adolescents. Yet the consciences of married men with an unavenged brother are never altogether easy. If the dead man has a son, however young, they feel less troubled. For this son will be expected to revenge his father before he marries. However, by the time the son is mature enough to act, the killer is probably an old man and removed from the public scene. In this situation a son tends to put off the execution of his duty in the hope that the murderer will soon die naturally without his assistance.

If the dead man has an unmarried brother, ideally the latter may not marry until the murderer has been killed or driven into exile. But if the dead man has also a son, even though it is still in the cradle, he will probably take a wife; particularly if the killer has a long sentence to serve. If the dead man has no son, an unmarried brother will certainly wait until the murderer emerges from prison, but if the latter does not then return to the community the brother will probably consider himself free to marry a year or two afterwards.

Yet despite the dearth of reciprocal vengeance killings, the idea of this obligation is very real, and it remains a potent sanction against light-hearted killings in a community with a taste for violence. Of five Sarakatsan murderers released from prison in recent years, three moved to other parts of Greece, and the two who returned to the community only did so because their victims had left no ready avenger on the scene.

The details of a vengeance killing which occurred in 1950 illustrate some aspects of the problem. During the civil war of ^[22] 1947-9 the Sarakatsani were unable to reach their summer grazing in the mountains and remained in the plains of Thesprotia under conditions of extreme heat and absence of grass. There was a boundary dispute between the extended ^[57] family group of Achnoulas and a 'company' of families led by

John Stratos.

HOSTILITY BETWEEN UNRELATED FAMILIES 211

During the spring and autumn migrations between the mountains and the plains, many thousands of sheep move along the main road from Jannina to the coastal area around and south of Igoumenitsa. On these occasions, men and their sheep who normally live at a distance find themselves head to tail on the same stretch of road, jostling one another for the meagre stretches of roadside grass, blocking one another's passage on the road, or travelling in the pall of dust raised by the flock in front. In these circumstances, families give a very free rein to their hostility, fights are frequent and sheep theft at night is one of the excitements of the road to which young men look forward. But if on these occasions a man finds himself immediately behind a flock with which he may share a boundary during the coming six months, he moves off the road and waits for half an hour until distance or another flock places a barrier between future neighbours. However, it would be wrong to interpret the relative restraint shown in relations with neighbouring families as reflecting any measure of co-operation. But shepherds and their sheep are peculiarly vulnerable to attack, and it is a structural imperative of such a community that hostility between groups living in close proximity be controlled, if only through their fear of mutual destruction.

Hostility is a kind of relationship, and providing it is limited in such a way that it cannot succeed in its ultimate aim, that is the annihilation of the adversary, it may represent an important element in the pattern of social relations of a community. This is the case among the Sarakatsani where the opportunities for the expression of open hostility are limited by the constant demands of the flocks on the shepherds' attention, and the circumstance that the shepherds and their animals are physically dispersed. Obviously the ability of one man to get at another is always an important factor in a relationship of hostility. But these behaviours are also controlled, partially at any rate, in the competitive forms through which they are acted out. And it is perhaps not unprofitable to consider theft in the general context of competitive gift exchange. The victim, both from honour and self-interest, is obliged to commit a counter-theft. Like the return gift in other societies, the return theft amongst the Sarakatsani should ideally be greater than the original theft. Like a series of prestations and counter-prestations, in theory a

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 4
 554 master. In contrast the Sarakatsan model is the anarchic palli-
 kari hero whose ideal is personal freedom and aggressive pride,
 the patriot of the klephtic ballads, trussed with bandoliers,
 S
 186 physically hard and morally self-disciplined. By implication
 such men are shepherds, not villagers; the latter, whether they
 live by agriculture or not, are despised as 'bent men' (σκολιμοί
 S
 619 εὐθραστοί), men who servilely dig in the earth.

S
 619 The community is a closed group: individuals are members
 because they were born into it. On the other hand, some people
 leave it through marriage to villagers; and through education
 S
 619 or wealth where these lead to a change in occupation or the
 582 material conditions of living. In one respect, then, the Sarakat-
 sani of Zagori are an occupational group sharing a homogeneous
 style of life: in another, a community practising preferential
 endogamy. For probably not more than 5 per cent of all
 Sarakatsan marriages are to persons outside the community.
 Significantly such marriages meet with some disapproval; and
 even where a man who has taken a village wife continues to live
 from his flocks, he is no longer considered to be a full member
 of the community without some qualification.

S
 619 The Sarakatsani of Zagori, while they have this clear sense
 621 of their solidarity in opposition to the villagers, are nevertheless
 221 a widely dispersed community in which the only group able
 to act together on the basis of local community, rather than
 kinship ties, is the local gathering of shepherds who in summer
 live on the grazing lands of the same village. This gathering of
 families has little group consciousness and no formal organiza-
 tion. There are various reasons for this. A family may sometimes
 have ties of kinship and marriage with as many as half the
 families in the local gathering, but never with all. Distrust
 between unrelated families does not prevent the momentary up-
 surge of feelings of identification against villagers, but it com-
 pletely cripples the co-operation that is necessary for systematic
 opposition. In difficulties men turn for practical help to kinsmen
 and affines, not to unrelated neighbours. A further reason is that
 the local group is dissolved in the autumn when each co-
 operating group moves down to its winter pastures which are
 seldom in the same neighbourhood. Since a family has one set
 of Sarakatsan neighbours in the summer and generally an en-
 tirely different set in the winter, the feeling emerges that there

COMMUNITY

215 S

is something impermanent, almost fortuitous, about the local neighbourhood whether in summer or winter.¹ At the same time the significance and solidarity of the total Sarakatsan community is emphasized. The expression, 'we, the Sarakatsani of Zagori' is common; but 'we, the Sarakatsani of Tsepelevo' (or any other village), is heard less frequently.

Yet it is in the local neighbourhood that hostility between Sarakatsani and Zagori villagers is actively expressed. Property rights are jealously guarded, and in the absence of fencing it is inevitable that Sarakatsan sheep and mules are discovered in the crops or gardens of villagers. They trespass regularly and deliberately on certain areas of grassland reserved for the cutting of hay on which the villagers rely to feed their livestock during the winter months. The shepherds also attempt to defraud the village treasury by concealing some of their sheep when the flock is numbered each spring. For their part the Sarakatsani resent the fines they must pay in the agricultural court for the depredations committed by their animals. They believe, too, that they are cheated in the allotment of watering time by the villager who regulates the irrigation of village vegetable gardens. There are quarrels over the regulations for the grazing and watering of mules, which favour the villagers. There is trouble over the use of springs for washing clothes and over the refusal of the Sarakatsani to use earth-closets. Indeed, there is trouble between the two groups at every point of contact between them. Since their rights are entrenched by the decrees passed in the village council and because the executive administration of village affairs is necessarily in the hands of villagers who are in residence all the year, the villagers are almost always in a legally secure position in differences with Sarakatsani. It follows that the villager appeals to the law which happens to favour his interests, the Sarakatsanos more often turns to self-help and violence. Justice is not a question of the impartial administration of existing law, although this, too, may be lacking in the view of the Sarakatsani. If the law does not allow a man to protect the interests and dignity of his family, then it does not represent justice.

¹ In this connexion it is worth remarking that before the Sarakatsani became village citizens in 1938 a family, or stani, did not necessarily go to the same grazing village in Zagori each year.

^S
178 of its debt in the early summer when it has reaped the harvest of
439 milk, meat, and wool. The last twenty years, and especially the
426 years since the war, have seen a new situation in which the
511 shepherds have sold an increasing proportion of their annual
produce, have themselves spent more money (not solely on the
needs of physical subsistence), and have become, generally
speaking, deeply and permanently indebted to merchants.

^S
426 Only three of the 42 Sarakatsan households at Neochori have
434 assets, which suggest that each summer they are virtually clear
of debt. Speaking very generally, for these details are hard to
collect and even harder to check, the average weight of debt
carried by each elementary family is about £100. Only when a
family of man, wife, and small children, has at least 200 sheep
is there generally the possibility of it being relatively free
of debt. But it is impossible to express the matter in a simple
numerical statement, much depends on the price a family is
forced to pay for its winter grazing. This may vary between
such wide limits as half a crown and ten shillings per head of
stock.

^S
234 The need of the many semi-nomad pastoralists in the Epirus,
439 not only Sarakatsani, to find a market for their produce is the
6 merchant's opportunity. The most valuable of these products is
441 the milk of the ewes. The constituent families of co-operating
439 'companies' of shepherds are generally so deeply in debt that
they are discouraged from the further heavy borrowings which
would be necessary for the rent or purchase of equipment to
turn their own milk into marketable cheese. And since there are
no large urban populations in the Epirus, the large quantities
of butter, cheese, and meat must find their principal outlet in
the Athenian market; but for the distribution of their products
in the metropolitan area the shepherds have neither the facilities
nor the knowledge.

^S
234 The ewe gives substantial quantities of milk for six or seven
439 months in the year, between the time when it drops its lamb in
221 January and the establishment of its pregnancy once more in
July or August. The spring milk is sold in the winter pastures
between 1st of February and the 20th of May. After the ten-day
migration to the summer pastures the milk is again sold in the
Zagori between the 1st of June and a date within a few days of
the end of July. The milk which is taken during the move into

Zagori
Greece EH1

MERCHANTS

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The milk which is taken during the move into the mountains, before the 1st of February, and after the last week in July, is made into a rough cheese and stored for the use of the family.

In each area where a merchant collects milk he establishes a cheese-maker (ματσογ) with an assistant. These men are paid and fed by the merchant, who also provides the necessary equipment, the cream separator, cauldrons, cheese boards, and rings. The shepherds who bring their milk to the cheese-making hut (ματσαρεύς) are responsible for its construction and for supplying it with water and firewood. It is not economical for a cheese-making station to serve less than 1,000 ewes, and the upper limit beyond which the quantities of milk become too great for a single cheese-maker to handle may be set at about 2,500 sheep. The spring milk is three times greater in quantity than the summer milk* and the more important merchants concentrate their main activities and have their headquarters in the winter pastures, but they also buy some summer milk in the various districts of the Pindus mountains of which the Zagori is one.

Before 1945 the cheese merchants in winter or summer were small entrepreneurs seldom controlling more than two or three cheese-making stations. Between 1944 and 1949 currency inflation and Communist insurrections ruined many of these men. Only the stronger and abler merchants survived. The financially strong merchant was able to steal the custom of his weaker competitors by offering more substantial credits at a time when the shepherds needed a larger cash income than formerly, but were also slipping farther into debt. Today in the winter pastures there are a number of merchants with five or six stations but few with less. The situation in the winter pastures, especially in Thesprotia, is dominated by the merchant 'X' who controls 45 stations drawing on the milk production of 50,000 ewes. He also has a wholesale agency in Athens through which his butter and cheese have a secure market outlet to the metropolitan consumer.

The establishment of a cheese station requires, in the first

* Winter milk production varies considerably. One stani produced 38 okes per ewe in 1945 and as little as 13½ okes per ewe in 1954. Generally for the period 1950-5, milk production in winter has varied between 20 and 24 okes per ewe. Summer production is more stable at 7 to 9 per ewe. An oke of milk is equivalent to 2.35 pints.

THE MATERIAL ELEMENTS IN PRESTIGE 303

'having pride', but also things. A shepherd's crook with a carved wooden handle is the privilege of respected heads of family. It has pride. A tselingas of high lineage trains a horse as a *μινέκι*, an animal that will trot with the foreleg and hindleg moving together. Mounted on such a beast his pride is unassailable by lesser individuals. Other men might, without difficulty, train such an animal; a wage shepherd or a brother without an independent household might easily strut about the village square with a carved shepherd's crook in his hand. But these objects have pride only when a status has been achieved; they merely produce ridicule when it has been usurped.

The migrations between the plains and the mountains (particularly the spring journeys) are important occasions for the display of family pride, for then the entire community is on the road together with their flocks and their horses and mules. This is an opportunity to make a direct physical appraisal of a family, its bearing, and its wealth, in a way that at other times is not possible. 'For pride', on these occasions, horses and mules are decorated with coloured saddle-cloths, the sheep are loaded with large and sonorous bells; and if the spring shearing precedes the journey, one, two, or sometimes three long tufts of fleece (*φοῦντες*) are left on their backs. One or two late-born lambs that have been adopted as household pets are gaily decorated with lengths of coloured woollen cord. Despite the hardships of the journey, heat and dust in the spring, often continuous rain in the autumn, the men and women also give much attention to their own appearances. The women wear their best skirts, bodices, and shoes, the men are continually combing their hair and straightening their jackets. If a family has taken a new bride during the previous six months, this woman, decked in the finest clothes of her dowry, leads the first mule in the train so that she may be seen and remarked by all.

Similarly, a wedding is a setting for the display of pride. Men show pride in the dance by the dignity of their demeanour; each struggles to show himself first in skill and enthusiasm (*μετακλής*). The visible pride of the riders in the bridegroom's procession brings prestige to his family, but also the individual riders vie with one another in the quality of their horses and accoutrements and the severity of their bearing. For pride,

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964

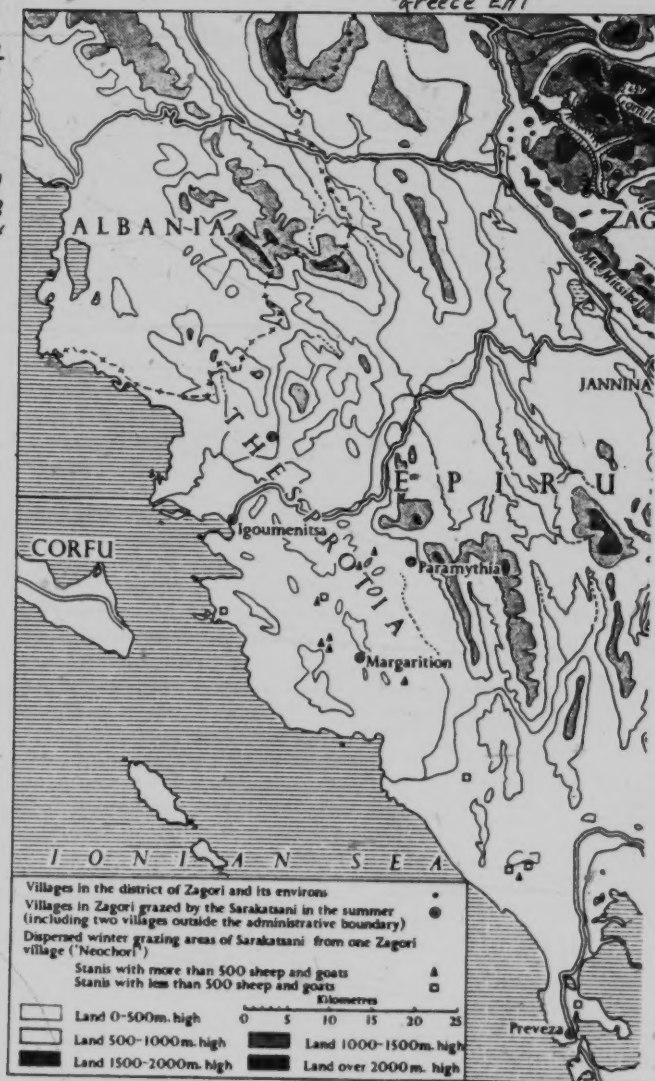
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Map of the Epirus Indicating Summer and Winter Grazing Areas of The Zagori Sarakatsani.

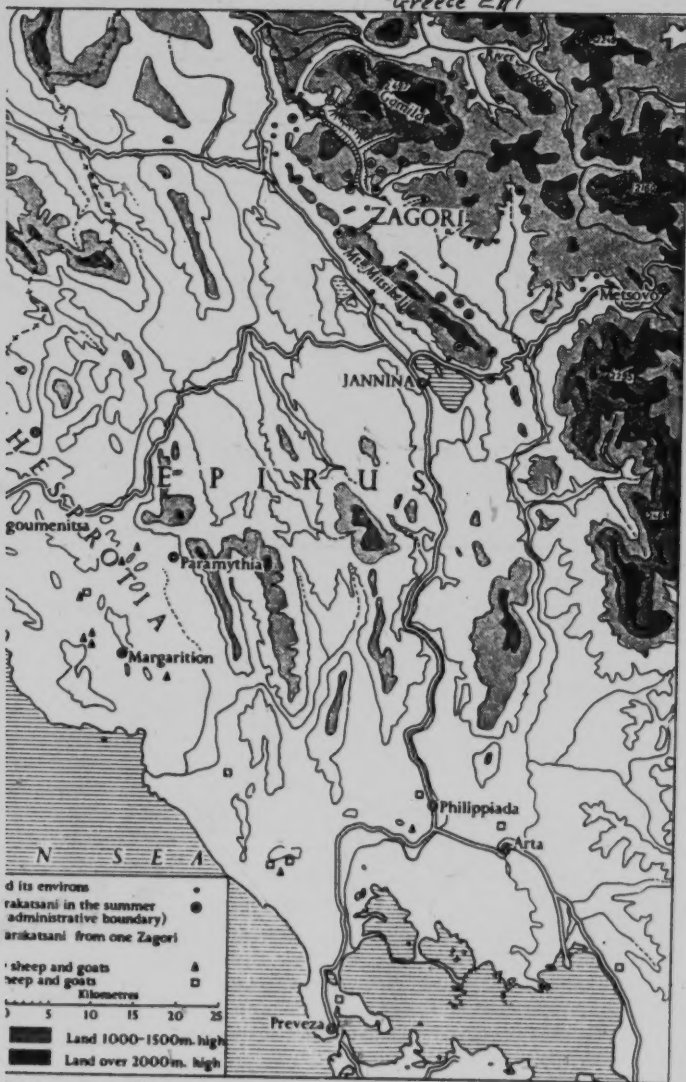
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Map of The EPIRUS

Indicating Summer and Winter Grazing Areas of the Zagori Sarakatsani

233 reached to the ground, capes of so coarse a weave
 291 and so stiff with rain that they looked as though
 their incumbents could almost step forth and
 leave them standing like sentry boxes. I next saw
 101 them in March the following year, when I was
 114 riding across Greek Macedonia and stayed a night
 122 in one of their smoky wigwams. Since then I had
 131 seen them again and again, all over northern
 142 Greece, in the plains in winter and in the moun-
 tains in summer, but always on the skyline or in
 the middle distance. True nomads, these self-
 appointed Ishmaels hover on the outskirts of or-
 dinary Greek life as fleetingly as a mirage, only
 manifesting themselves to ordinary mortals in far-
 away glimpses. Suddenly, at a ravine's twist far
 from the scorched lowlands, one comes across
 their impermanent hamlets of conical huts on
 high ledges of the Pindus and the Rhodope moun-
 tains and in the sierras of Roumeli; and in winter,
 gazing down from the snows that have banished
 them, one can discern their clustering huts in
 the plains, the ascending smoke, and the slowly
 grazing flocks.

221 Every spring their beasts and their long cara-
 361 vans of horses, laden with all they possess, can be
 442 seen winding up into the thawed mountains, or
 halted around a sudden village of somber tents,
 to stream downhill again later to the withered
 autumnal plains which the rains will soon turn
 green. One discovers them binding lopped
 542 branches and osier twigs into the hemispherical
 skeletons of the huts which will house them for the
 season; shelters whose blackened and molting
 thatch will later mark where they have settled for
 a few months and vanished from again. Some-
 times a far-off barking and the murmur of bells
 hint at their presence deep in the ilex woods or
 along a dazzling canyon where nothing stirs ex-
 cept, perhaps, a pair of floating eagles. Besides
 661 these rare apparitions, this fugitive community of
 733 about eighty thousand souls and of flocks amount-
 ing to several million head seems to have the gift
 of invisibility.

361 U
 221 NLIKE the seminomads of Greece — the Kout-
 233 zovlachs and the Karagounis, who all have moun-
 101 tain villages from which to migrate and to which
 they return after their half-yearly journeys in
 search of winter pasture — the Sarakatsani have
 nothing more solid than their abodes of wicker
 and rush. All of them, however, look to some
 range of mountains, some fold or cordillera where
 they have grazed their flocks for centuries of sum-
 mers, as their home. Their lowland pastures are
 more variable, an uncertain sojourn with few
 claims on their allegiance. At the turn of the cen-
 tury the Sarakatsani of northern Greece were the

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nomads with the widest range of migration. The sudden cage of new frontiers which sprang up after the Balkan Wars failed to confine them, and they would fan out in autumn, from Epirus and Macedonia, all over southern Albania and across the lower marches of Serbia as far as Montenegro and Herzegovina and Bosnia and into Bulgaria, to the foothills of the great Balkans.

Those Sarakatsani who thought of the Rhodope Mountains as their home were particularly bold in the extent of their winter wanderings. Not only would they expand northward, as they had in those first outposts which I saw years ago along the coasts of the Black Sea, but before the Hebrus River became the inviolable border of Turkey their autumnal caravans would reach Constantinople, and up would go their wigwams under the walls of Theodosius. Others would settle along the shores of the Sea of Marmara, looking out toward the islands of the Propontis. Yet others would spread over the rich green hills of the Dardanelles, and many would cross the Hellespont and pitch their camps on the plain of Troy. The boldest of all would continue their journey to the meadows of Bithynia, wintering there among the poplar trees, or pushing on further into Cappadocia as far as Caesarea, scattering their flocks across the volcanic wildernesses around the empty rock monasteries of Urgub, or even as far as Iconium, the home of Jellalludin and the metropolis of the whirling dervishes.

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Enormous though these journeys were, they were scarcely looked upon as expatriation; for, until the mass deracination of the 1920s, much of Asia Minor was still part of the Greek world, and even beyond its confines, ancient Greek colonies, established for thousands of years but reduced by the later tide of invading Seldjuk Turks to scattered islets of Hellenism, still survived and prospered. There the invisible frontiers of nomadism overlapped and dovetailed into those of other pastoral wanderers, the Yourouks, autochthonous Anatolian shepherds who had grazed their flocks over the hinterland of Asia Minor for centuries before the Turks arrived there and even made return migrations, now and then, as far as Macedonia. No wonder some of the aura of a fable hangs about these men.

123 So strong is this aura for me that a quarter of an hour after catching a glimpse of this isolated Sarakatsani I was sitting at the table next to him, among the smithies and harness makers, on the outskirts of the town where old artisans settled down to quiet nargilehs after quitting work. I watched him order and drink a coffee, and

[p. 74-B]

192
233 is at the Feast of the Annunciation, "when the first cuckoo is heard"? Such were the topics that boomed about the room.

233 Barba Petro pointed out the celebrities: "Uncle
221 George over there, with only one eye — he's one
103 of the biggest *tsellingas* in the Rhodope. Over ten
[494] thousand sheep and goats he's got, and I expect this is the first time he's been inside a house. The

one talking to him is ninety-three, and he used to pasture his flocks near Saranta Ekklesies, or Forty Churches — Kirk Kilisse, the Turks call it — away, away beyond Adrianople. Then, after the Balkan Wars, the Turks closed the frontier, so now he builds his winter huts along the coast, west of here, below Xanthi. The other one, with a scar on his forehead, used to winter between Haskovo and Stara Zagora — wonderful grass! — but now, what with the Bulgars, the horn wearers, he's had to look elsewhere. I had a few, but good ones. I used to graze them not far from Kios, in Bithynia, near Nicaea, on the Asian coast. That was years ago. Caiques sailing past in the Sea of Marmara could hear my bells. But the Rhodope is where we all belong."

101 I asked him what the name "Sarakatsán" meant, saying that I had heard it was really *Karakatchani*, a Turkish word meaning "the black ones who depart" or "the black departers." He shut his eyes and flung back his head, clicking his tongue in the negative. "No, no. That's not right.

[173] We don't know, but some people say we get our name from the village of Syrako, in Epirus, and that Aly Pasha burned the place down and drove us away and left us wandering ever since." I said
101 Syrako was a Koutzovlach village. Uncle Petro
186 testily stabbed the butt of his crook into the mat several times. "I don't know anything about that.

We are Greeks. Nothing to do with the Koutzovlachs. Who knows where they come from? You can't understand them when they are talking among themselves. People are always getting us mixed up, because we both wear black and graze flocks. We keep clear of them. You'll never get a Sarakatsán marrying a Koutzovlach. Let alone a Karagouni. *Po, po, po!*" At the mention of these other tribes, he caught the hem of his jacket between finger and thumb in a Panhellenic gesture of squeamish disdain, and shook it lightly to and fro as though to rid it of dust and vermin.

585
262 THE reiterated song of welcome, after gradually swelling in volume as the room filled with guests, had stopped long ago. Low circular tables, laid
252 with glasses and with communal dishes of roasted
263 steaming lamb, skillfully hacked from the carcasses turning outside and sprinkled with rock salt, were

726 droppings; and a dried snake's head, hidden in a
 [289] church for forty days and then retrieved, is sov-
 [230] ereign against many baleful manifestations. To the
 Nereids, a danger for all lonely shepherds near
 pools and streams, young Sarakatsáns are particu-
 larly exposed. They are often struck dumb and
 robbed of their wits by chancing on the Nereid
 revels and dances, just as mortals were sometimes
 turned into trees if they had the bad luck to blun-
 der on the dances of the nymphs. There have been
 [588] many mixed nomad-Nereid marriages, and many
 a healthy Sarakatsán baby has been stolen from
 its hanging cradle and replaced by the sickly
 changeling of one of these water maidens.

Demons of every kind and gender dog the
 nomads' footsteps up hill and down dale and
 "chase them into woods." They are the special
 target of some female supernatural beings called
 the *Kalotyches* ("the good fortunes") — like the
 name *Eumenides* ("the kindly ones") for the Furies,
 a wry, placating misnomer — who are half women,
 half she-asses, and snake-locked, like Medusa.
 They plague the flocks and bring bad luck at lamb-
 ing time and childbed, and they are especially to
 be feared during the forty days following the birth
 of a nomad baby.

By far the darkest villain in Sarakatsán demon-
 ology is a male spirit known as the *Daoutis*. *Daoutis*,
 sometimes called *Pans*, are the wildest, strongest,
 and wickedest of them all. Shaped like satyrs, with
 half-goat, half-human bodies and long legs with
 cleft hooves, they have the heads of rams with large
 twirling horns. Along with certain other demons,
 [22] *Daoutis* are most dangerous to flocks at three
 seasons of the year: during Advent, just before
 lambing; in late April or early May, as the shep-
 herds prepare to leave their winter quarters for
 the mountains; and from the feast of the Trans-
 figuration until the end of August. They are
 prone, during these bad periods, to swoop, shriek-
 ing like birds of prey, on the cowering flocks, and
 after two or three of these onslaughts, the beasts
 begin to perish, sometimes a dozen at a time; they

[828] swell up and die. Sliced tortoise meat is used as a
 [742] counterspell, and the shepherds shift camp at
 once. If they can find a priest, he sprinkles the new
 site with holy water, and the sheep's bells are
 taken off and blessed. Unlike most wicked spirits,
Daoutis do not flinch from attacking in broad day-
 light, and possessing the knack of making friends
 with the dogs, they pad along after the flocks
 [231] unmolested. Therefore, when an emergency fold
 [372] is built, the dogs are left behind and fires are lit to
 make a magic circle of smoke. *Daoutis* also pick
 up the Christian names of mortals; so the shep-
 herds, if they hear anyone calling them, hold
 their tongues — answering might rob them of
 the power of speech for good. These terrible spirits

848
725 from the grave and haunts the folds and blights the pastures.

585
114 A recent unpublished source casts new light on the obscure drama of nomad marriages. I have mentioned in reference to the Mani the sword which, by sympathetic magic, is said to cleave asunder the bonds of fear and shyness between the two married strangers when they are finally alone together. In Sarakatsán embraces, a blade plays a

1352 still more immediate role. Alone in the hut, lying on cut branches padded with blankets — for there is never a bridal bed or a sheet and only the strictest minimum of undressing — the groom, with a sudden masterful swoop, leaps athwart the bride, seizes her by the scruff of her neck, and with bared teeth and burning eyes, lays the edge of a dagger at her throat. Most strangely, this time-honored stratagem works; timidity boils up into hot blood on either side, confusion is ripped to shreds, the dagger is flung away, and the union is driven home and fiercely clinched in a lightning tussle.

234
515 The nomad approach to all feminine physiological troubles is primitive, deep, and dark. They never undress — all exposure is anathema to them — and there is some truth in the village rumors that they never wash. Oddly, they scarcely smell at all, perhaps because of the time-stiffened carapace of clothing which encases them. The author of the unpublished material I have already mentioned was present at the death of an old Sarakatsánissa. There was no undoing the thick geometric livery in which she was cocooned, so it was torn open with a knife, sending the bystanders reeling back like the people depicted on icons at the Raising of Lazarus. When she marries, a girl is no longer a member of her own family, and sometimes she never sees it again; she is a slave to her husband and his womenfolk, a stranger in strangers' tents. It was the rule in the stern old days that no wife should address her husband in the first years of her marriage; he, in his turn, would never call her by name; and many years and many births had to pass before they would converse in public.

716 Charon, Death, is a permanent presence and the most natural of companions. A nomad who perishes in the mountains goes unhouseled and unanled. If he should die on the road — and the nomads' two yearly migrations, geared to the slow gait of the flocks, may take twenty-five or thirty days — he is laid across a pack beast, and after the body is unloaded, a candle is lit for him three evenings running and a cup of wine placed "for his soul to drink from." If a *tselingas* falls mortally ill, the bells are muffled; and if he dies, all the animals, even the bellwethers, are disarmed in mourning. When men turn fifty and women thirty, all the nomads, however hale they are,

/4 cont./

121 perspective it must first of all be concerned with this originality and
182 try to isolate it and bring it out. To achieve this it is important
to specify clearly:

1. The concrete problems which the Sarakatsani must face.
2. The conditions and possibilities which his natural and human environment impose on him and offer him for the solution of these problems.

3. Finally, and above all, the system of actual solutions which the Sarakatsani has developed in relation to the two preceding points, hence the socio-cultural system of Sarakatsani society.

This last point will furnish an answer to the question posed above. Moreover, it will form the basis of our conclusions with regard to our knowledge of the Sarakatsani from their works.

To pass from the general to the particular, the problems the Sarakatsani faces are:

- Control of nature and the biological environment (plants, animals) for utilitarian ends.
- The relations of the Sarakatsani with his fellow man and with surrounding society, for the following purposes:
 - a complete enjoyment of natural resources,
 - a harmonious and effective coexistence,
 - a way of life guaranteeing to all subsistence, security and posterity.
- /5/ --His relations with the great beyond.
- Finally, problems relating to the esthetic of the Sarakatsani and his sense of beauty.

It will be seen that these problems, common to all societies, are in no way peculiar to him.

[361]
[221] On the other hand, the conditions in which they must be resolved are altogether specific and derive from the fact that as shepherds the Sarakatsani live outside all urban or rural centers, spending the summer in the mountains, in winter in the valleys, according to the needs of their flocks.

/18 cont./

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Now the life which the Saracatsan lead is extremely hard. We do not have any information on infant mortality, but it is probable that natural selection takes place, favoring the strongest and most resistant organisms, so that those who survive are physiologically endowed to reach an advanced age.

It is therefore not out of the question that the presumed longevity of the Saracatsan corresponds to reality. But this applies to only a fraction of individuals, those who have already been selected by nature. Under these circumstances, Sarakatsani longevity remains relative.

On this point, as on so many others, we can offer only hypotheses.

However, it is true that the observer is able to perceive among the Sarakatsani the presence of a considerable number of old people.

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--Marriage is also very strong here. In view of the fact that the entire social life of the Saracatsan is based on the family, celibacy is unknown and is even considered disgraceful.

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In general, the men marry between the ages of 25 and 30, and

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the women between 20 and 25. Divorce and remarriage are forbidden.

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At any rate, they are never practiced.

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These phenomena are linked to another phenomenon which, is demographic in nature but which, in the factors that /19/ determine it, touches on the ecological aspect (4)

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(113)

4. The term "ecology" discussed as such by the theoreticians (C. Lewelyn and A. Hauthorn: *L'écologie humaine in La Sociologie au XX^e siècle*, p. 477 f.) is used here to refer to the dialectical relations which develop between a group of human beings and their geographic and natural environment.

of the Sarakatsani world. We are referring to the migratory movements of our herders--movements which take the form of seasonal displacements.

In spring, more precisely on Saint George's day (April 23), the

/19 cont./

361 Sarakatsani depart for the mountains. And in the fall, around the 26
221 October, the festival of Saint Demetrius, they leave the mountains
and come down to the plains.

[233] These movements are ascribable to the very method of herding (5)

[113] 5. See M. Sorre: Les fondements de la géographie humaine,
vol. II, part 2, p. 646-647.

that the Sarakatsani carry on and to the needs of their flocks, on
which they are absolutely dependent.

233 In fact, once transplanted to the Greek mountains which are
[133] formed of fissured limestone, the Sarakatsani were able to carry
on but a single economic activity: the herding of sheep and goats.

[137] These two species are the only ones that could derive benefit from
the meager natural pastures which are found on these steep slopes with
their scrub vegetation. (6)

[113] 6. See P. Veyret: Géographie de l'élevage, p. 22 and 26.

132 The surface of the land alone presents numerous inconveniences.
It is known that temperature drops with altitude. A rise of 300 meters
is the equivalent of a distance of 300 kilometers in the direction
of a more northerly latitude. (7)

7. See P. Veyret: *Ibid.*, p. 41.

132 Winter thus comes rapidly in the mountains of the Mediterranean zone,
233 and it is particularly severe there, despite the generally temperate
221 climate prevailing in the Hellenic Peninsula. Vegetation can no
361 longer thrive, humidity reaches a degree harmful to the health of the
sheep, the snow endangers their lives. A change of habitat thus be-
comes necessary. The Sarakatsani then come down into the valleys in
search of more verdant and climatically milder regions.

When spring arrives, a spring which in Greece actually lasts only
a few days, the valleys and grasslands dry up rapidly, the days are
too warm for the livestock to endure the temperature, (8)

[171] 8. It is very characteristic to note that the
sedentary stock-raisers of Greece, the "Karagounides"

132 /19 cont./

233 of Thessaly, for example, pasture their flocks in
221 summer during the night and shut them in their pens
361 during the day.

[171] and the Sarakatsani find themselves /20/ obliged to set out again
for the mountains, there to find the vegetation ensured by moisture
and coolness. (9)

9. M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635.

233 Nonetheless, the livestock reproduce and their numbers increase
221 with time. Now, the large herds need vast spaces--which means they
361 must be driven in search of pasture, and the fact that large pasturages
are not numerous in Greece must be taken into account. That is why
the movements of the Sarakatsani become nomadic. Never, except by pure
coincidence, do groups know in advance where they are going to settle
in their next move. It is the availability of pasturage that determines
their movements.

233 Nothing in this process justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani
463 turned toward nomadism as a "calling." The determinancy which comes
into play here is so clear that it is altogether useless to seek another
especially not in the domain of group psychology, or to bring in a
vague concept such as "ethnic vocation" which can only obscure the
problem. It is indeed strange that a certain number of theorists (10)

233 10. Among these theorists we must mention P.
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Veyret: Ibid, p. 71.

believe in this calling of the nomad who becomes herder only because
he is first nomad and others (11) justifiably arise against them.

[113] 11. Jean Brunhes: La Géographie Humaine, vol. I, p.
410, M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635; Birket Smith: Histoire
de la Civilisation, p. 195, etc.

to preach the old truth expressed long ago by Aristotle: (12)

12. Aristotle: Politics.

One is a nomad because one is a herder.

21 cont./
361 enumerated. However, that has been the case only since the end of
361 the first world war. Until that time, and particularly during the
175 period when the Ottoman Empire occupied the Balkans, our herders also
moved into more distant countries, going as far as Yugoslavia and
southern Bulgaria. At times they crossed the Dardanelles to reach the
region of Pergamm and Asia Minor.

361 Since then, certain political events, the rupture between East
175 and West in particular, have impeded these movements.

178 The Sarakatsani habitat has thus shrunk remarkably. And the
repercussions of this reduction are very grave, if not catastrophic,
as we shall see in what follows.

Space, this friend of the nomadic herders, has now become their
enemy. And now we discover a space influencing their lives in a new
way.

361 The localities where the Sarakatsani live have undergone still
182 another transformation. We refer to the functional and utilitarian
233 organization of the space they occupy--an organization that has two
distinct aspects: the accomodations and tasks intended for /22/
men and the accomodations intended for the livestock and their husbandry.
We must mention the various arrangements that are relevant:

First, the dwelling huts. (13)

13. See below p. 69-95.

Second, the sheepfolds and enclosures for milking and shearing. (14)

14. See below p. 95-100.

All the arrangements and measures related to grazingland. (15)

15. See below p. 100 ff.

361 The distance between the sheepfolds and the dwelling huts varies
221 according to the season. In winter they are all close together. In
233 summer, however, they may be separated by several kilometers.

The winter camp, huts and sheepfolds, must be erected in a rela-
tively sheltered place far from hollows which, during rains, might

/22 cont./

361 become flooded. The entrance of the huts faces south to protect them
221 as much as possible from the north wind. The sheepfolds are built
233 on gentle slopes in order to facilitate the discharge of water and liquid
manure. However, while the sheepfolds are always situated close to
the pasturage, the pens of the goats are placed as far away as possible,
on some rocky point where tough shrubs grow.

361 It is thus, as we see, the configuration of the ground that
233 determines the construction of the camp, always accomodating the
needs of people and animals.

361 The summer camp is clearly divided into two parts: the place
221 occupied by the huts, constructed according to the rules given above,
233 and the place occupied by the flocks. But the latter place does not
have sheepfolds. Actually, during the summer, the shelters built for
the animals are very rudimentary. Thanks to the mildness of the
climate, the shepherds simply confine the livestock in enclosures made
by placing prickly shrubs upon one another and they do so during the
night only, so that the animals will not disperse. The surveillance
and safety of the livestock is always ensured by the shepherds them-
selves and by their dogs.

Neither in the winter camp nor in the summer camp does one see
any building for the benefit of the group as a whole; there is no
place of public assembly (even in the open), no path, no fountain--
a feature /absence?/ altogether characteristic of their life.

361 /23/ On the other hand, a close observation of the aggregate
of huts shows very distinct small groups, as well as relatively
isolated huts. The center of the aggregate, or one of the commanding
spots is occupied by a solid hut, large and carefully finished. The
method of social and familial organization of the Sarakatsani, which
consists of the Tseligato and its chief, the extended family and the
conjugal family, (16)

16. See below, second part.
here also leaves its peculiar mark.

361 /24 cont./

233 to the general technology of sheep herders and not to space.

233 It remains for us to speak of the pastures and of dispositions relating, in a general way, to the feeding of the animals. The examination of this problem will be part of the study of the technology of herding.

621 The social incidence of all the phenomena described is very
[163] important. The high birth rate and longevity contribute to the
[165] creation of large families and long lineages. There follows from this a question of organization and economic expectations. For the
[888] same reasons, the category of "the aged" becomes large. The situation and social condition of this class, whose presence necessarily complicates social differentiation, constitutes a separate question.

621 The /seasonal/ migrations cause variations of intensity in
233 Sarakatsani social life. The summer encampment, divided in two as
221 we have seen, brings about a separation of active men from women. The first occupy themselves exclusively with herding following the flocks. The second remain in the encampment. On the other hand, during the winter, men and women live together. Thus, the large festivals, the
[176] celebration of marriages, the collective performance of certain rites
[585] of a magico-religious order take place only within the framework of the winter set-up, never during the summer. The calendar that prescribes all these activities and is established on the basis of the socio-economic occupations of this people, and therefore in accordance with the times when the participation of all proves possible. (18)

18. See below, the chapters devoted to magic and religion.

233 Finally; the displacements also involve contacts with the
361 surrounding society through which the Sarakatsani pass; a certain
177 number of measures and arrangements assure the successful outcome of the encounter.

3: Kabbadias--56 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/46 cont./

236 In order that this account may come closer to reality, it follows the successive stages of this industry as they unfold.

Shearing



Fig. 35

[432] Shearing is very hard work because the wool of the sheep as well as that of the goats is impregnated with grease, (wool grease), which makes penetration of the scissors extremely difficult. Obviously, the scissors used (pivoted scissors) are bought commercially (fig. 35).

Shearing requires much skill and physical strength. It is done preferably on sunny but calm days, for humidity and wind harden the fatty matter that impregnates the fleece. It is, moreover, for the same reason that the animal to be sheared is always placed in the sun.

[221] The season of shearing coincides with arrival at the summer location, that is to say, after the spring move (at the beginning of the month of May).

[461] On the day chosen they set to work at dawn and continue all day. The women gather up the wool and put it in bags after sorting it by color.

[527] If the flocks are numerous or if the meteorological conditions are not favorable, the shearing may last several weeks. However, when

236 /46 cont./
[529] all is finished they organize a festival in order to rest and entertain themselves.

The arrangements observed are the same whether for sheep or goats.

[22] However, shearing of the latter precedes that of the former (it takes
[462] place during the month of March) and it is done by the women for reasons relating to special beliefs and superstitions. (9)

9. See below, pp. 101, 177-179, 370-371.

It is also necessary to mention another type of shearing which is partial and pertains only to the sheep. Twice a year (in March and in /47/ October) they shear the belly, the feet and chest to relieve the animals somewhat of their thick fleece (it is very warm at these times) and to rid them to some extent of their parasites.

Wool making

This type of work involves the following operations: boiling which consists of bringing the wool to boil in large cauldrons in order to get rid of the grease. The water from this boiling is saved in a receptacle and kept for later use.

[412] Washing: once boiled, the wool is piled up at the edge of a brook or rushing stream. There, the women wash it very carefully in running water and beat it with paddles of wood.

Drying: the washing finished, they dry the wool by exposing it to the sun.

Carding: it is then carded. They start by ridding the wool of all foreign bodies clinging to its strands, for example burrs, thorns, etc. After that they first disentangle the wool by hand in order to facilitate the cardage proper, which consists of combing the wool with the cards.

The position of the cards (fig. 28 and 29) is as follows: the lower thin board rests on the knees of the seated carder; this board has a rope around the center which passes between the knees of the carder; its end is attached to a wooden cylinder placed under

A, [See p. 50--An-lyst]

/92 cont./

232 which permits him to reach the brain and the cyst. With a hook
 (413) (small elongated implement ending in a kind of hook) he removes
 (237) the cyst, replaces the bone, covers the spot of entry with beeswax
 and applies a dressing. After several days the wound heals and the
 animal recovers.

The safety of the livestock

233 The serious enemies of the flocks are wild beasts (chiefly wolves),
 (685) on the one hand, and livestock thieves on the other. (A short time
 (577) ago, the latter were very numerous, this type of theft being considered
 (231) a virtue among herders. Against them Sarakatsani keep large dogs,
 very savage and very dangerous. These dogs do not hesitate to grapple
 with wolves, and it is for this reason that their masters put around
 their necks a collar studded with iron points.

Moreover, the shepherds always see to it that the flock /93/ does
 not disperse, for the strayed animals become the specific prey of
 wolves and thieves. This task is easier when there is a ram or a
 buck in the flock, since these animals act as the center of attraction
 for the livestock (ewes and she-goats). Moreover, the sound of their
 (534) bells (they are huge, some weighing several kilograms) always gives
 the signal for reassembly of the flock by a conditioned reflex
 mechanism. This mechanism is so effective that even in the darkest
 nights the shepherds succeed in regrouping their animals by ringing
 these bells. /Fig. 74 appears here/

Seasonal migrations

221 The seasonal migrations involve the following arrangements:
 233
 484 At a designated hour, always before dawn, the women set to work;
 361 entrusted with the preparations, they gather up the equipment and load
 (462) it on the backs of the beasts of burden. The men, for their part,
 "take care of the livestock." When everything is ready, human beings,
 beasts of burden and flock form a column in the order laid down by
 tradition. The flocks surrounded by shepherds and dogs set out first.

3: Kabbadias--107 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/93 cont./

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Fig. 74

Then the second part of the column, made up of all the rest, starts moving. Of course, the entire column moves with the rhythm of the flocks; the latter cannot be deprived of grazing, nor rest during the hot hours during the migrations; they must also be milked.

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(439) In this connection it must be noted, parenthetically, that in the course of the migration the Sarakatsani do not /94/ make real cheese; they simply let the milk curdle and subsequently sell it as is in the villages through which they pass. The complete preparation of cheese begins again as soon as they arrive at the site of their new settlement.

/94 cont./

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The nocturnal stops are marked by the following activities:

--Unloading of the animals.

--Pitching of the tents.

--Preparation of the spot where the fire will be kindled to cook the dinner.

[417]

--Setting up of the circular enclosures to protect the livestock, made sometimes with the bags containing the equipment, sometimes with thorny shrubs which form a very precarious hedge.

[462]

All this work is done by the women.

The next day, at dawn, they recommence the march after having performed the same activities, but in reverse. And the journey continues in the rhythm of the flock until the arrival at the place chosen for the new settlement. It may take several days, sometimes more than a week.

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Working with the livestock

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Strictly speaking, it is a question of the profit that is derived from the flocks, a profit realized from the milk, the shearing and the meat.

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While ewes and she-goats are nursing their young, they are not milked, or very exceptionally. Weaning, which goes on during the month of January marks the time when the milking commences.

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At the hour of milking, ewes and she-goats are led into the "stroumgha." Pushed by a shepherd who is inside, the animals leave

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one by one; they are then stopped by people sitting to the right and left of the exit, who milk them into special receptacles, "kardhari" (fig. 75).

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The milkingschedules vary according to the date: between the beginning of the month of January and the end of the month of June, the milking takes place twice a day, morning and evening. From the beginning of the month of July until the end of the month of August

/94 cont./

233 (the time when milking stops), milking takes place around noon, that
234 is to say, once a day. However, the intervals become progressively
221 more spread out, inasmuch as the production of milk decreases as
the season advances; thus, toward the 15th of August milking is done
only every two or three days.

236 /95/ As for shearing, everything relating to it has already
been pointed out in connection with the wool crafts. Hence we shall
not go back over it here.

262 Finally, we must emphasize that the meat is almost exclusively
439 a means of trade for the Sarakatsani, since they eat it only five



Fig. 75

262 or six times a year. On very rare occasions they "sacrifice" a lamb.
[439] This is their own expression, and it is a sufficient indication of
their attitude with regard to this act.

233 Likewise, they never kill female animals (except when these are
[262] sterile) because it is precisely on the female that their economy rests.
[432] The male lambs are the ones which, after 40 days, are gradually

/109 cont./

252 prepared in the same way as the preceding. This bread appears on the
[262] tables /110/ of the Sarakatsani women only on special occasions
[574] (the arrival of a visitor, holidays, weddings, etc.).
[527]

252 Culinary art: Here again it is necessary to distinguish between
262 a number of cooked foods, on the one hand, and pastries on the other,
which /together/ make up the basis of the diet of the Sarakatsani.

However, preliminary to the description of the different
[128] Sarakatsani "dishes" it is suitable to begin with the method of pre-
[234] paring of cheese since cheese and butter make up the main ingredients
of most foods.

234 We know that the milk produced is sold in bulk to a contractor
252 who transforms it into butter and cheese. This system is not practiced
436 either in the course of the seasonal migrations--the contractor not
221 being a nomad who follows the caravan--or, with better reason, in the
course of the first summer months when the milk production decreases
rapidly from day to day until it is near zero, so that the presence of
the contractor unnecessary. It is during these two periods that the
milk is made into cheese by the Sarakatsani themselves, to take care of
their own needs. This is how they go about it:

234 The milk, at milking temperature of perhaps slightly heated
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[412]
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Fig. 90

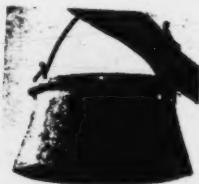


Fig. 91

/140 cont./

585 We have spoken previously of the public consent of the bride's
602 kin, the significance of which, beyond what we have pointed out, con-
848 sists of granting to the marriage of the young girl all the guarantees
562 of legitimacy and convention. It seems to us that this act presupposes
a rule according to which "the children born from a proper marriage are
legitimate."

However, though on this point we can proceed only by hypothesis,
since the Sarakatsani do not express themselves, they are fortunately a
certain number of practices which leave no doubt as to their function
and which we shall now enumerate:

(221) First, in the course of the seasonal migration, if there is a new
(492) bride in the group, it is she who, on horseback, rides at the head of
(484) the caravan.

(554) When one realizes that only the chief of the Tséligato has the
(474) privilege of traveling mounted while everybody else goes on foot, we
understand that this distinction granted the bride has a profound sig-
nificance. This significance cannot be reduced to the desire of the
Sarakatsani to honor the bride, as was formerly maintained. (20)

20. See Hadjimichali: *Ibid.*, A. I, p.

Neither in the ritual of marriage nor in the family life as such does
one find anything that can justify such an attitude with regard to the
bride.

On the contrary, we have seen that everything tends to place the
latter in an inferior position. Now, the practices found in a traditional
society cannot be mutually contradictory. They always form coherent
systems, and it is obvious that where one thinks one sees apparent
contradictions, there is in fact a profound and sometimes hidden reason
that guarantees the equilibrium and the cohesion of the system in question.

Our conclusions about the social functions of marriage (to insure
collaborators and friends among lineages) explain this phenomenon.

596 /159 cont.)

264 The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken
[562] together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

[233] If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of
462 division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[825] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats
[233] "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[231] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to
[235] the women.

[361] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in
[221] the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The
[484] women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

[236] The shearing of the sheep is work generally done by the men, although the help of the women is sometimes required. On the other hand, the shearing of goats is an exclusively female task.

[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[313] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,
[322]

233 /258 cont./
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in Byzantium: ~~Isidore~~ ΧΡΥΣΟΤΟΜΟΥ: p. 106.--

This is the unlucky person.

Thus, an old Sarakatsani woman told us that one year her husband, inadvertently, was the first person to enter the hut. That year their sheep gave them only rams.

The second observation has to do with the position on the ground of the young girl who visits the huts. It is a symbolic means of influencing the ewes and compelling them not to chase off their young when the latter try to nurse just after their birth, as they very often do, thus endangering the lives of the newborn animals.

Fertility, Abundance and Prosperity.

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The problem of feeding the livestock is only partially solved by the seasonal migrations in search of grass. A drought is enough to destroy everything. To avert such a possibility the Sarakatsani addresses himself again to the universal creative forces personified in other avatars of the Mother-Goddess capable of promoting the fertility of the earth and the abundance of vegetation.

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These avatars are connected with the evolution of ideas about the Mother-Goddess during antiquity in the direction of an acceptance of the existence of a male principle at her side. This principle progressed from being her son, then her companion, first in a fraternal sense then in a sexual one, finally securing supremacy for himself. Generally this figure dies young only to be resurrected later, full of strength /259/ and vitality; it symbolizes nature, which dies in winter and is regenerated in the spring, and to nature it transmits its forces. (32)

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32. The Mother-Goddess becomes Rea, the mother of the Cretan Zeus who is not yet "the father of men and of gods" of the Homeric epoch, but a god of fertility who dies periodically: P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 95, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 129, H. Jeanmarie: Couroi et Courètes. She generally becomes Cybele of Phrygia, assisted by Attis; her worship and the passion of

/263 cont./

777 Thursday is moreover considered /264/ as a propitious day for a certain
236 number of practices that will be dealt with in the chapter devoted to religion. (39)

39. Carlsen Høeg, in the work cited, says about shearing (p. 14-15): "I have sought with much interest to discover whether this act...gave rise to ceremonies or demanded precautions, giving evidence of more of less conscious superstitious ideas. But I have seen absolutely nothing that could be interpreted in this sense." This admission of the Danish ethnographer, surprising though it is, shows the difficulties that the explorer of Sarakatsani life must overcome at every turn.

[574] Moreover, during the shearing, it is necessary to avoid the visit of any
777 person who brings ill luck. (40) As for the seasonal migration, it must
221 40. On the influence of a visitor on destiny see pp. 289-290, footnote 31.

not begin on Tuesday, Friday or Sunday. (41)

41. See above, the notes on the days indicated for conception and the comments about them, pp. 283-285.

The Well-Being of Men and of Animals

784 All the magic procedures examined thus far certainly contribute to
776 the well-being of men and animals. However, men and animals are exposed
754 to threats from different sources: supernatural beings, illnesses, male-
[784] violent human acts and influences (evil eye, black magic)--so many sub-topics which will be set forth in this section.

* * * *

776 The realm of feared spirits is filled with demons, fairies, moires, and finally ogres. Each of these has its characteristics and exerts a particular influence which determines the specific manner in which one should defend oneself against its activity.

Demons belong to several categories. Certain ones, of whom the

233 /279 cont./
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 [114]

by the Council of Laodicea (36th rule), Mansi, vol. II.

Then one strikes the rim of the bell in order to close it and puts it around the neck of a ram of the finest ewe of the flock. This amulet protects against sickness as well as evil spirits. (84)

(534)

84. The bell, the hand bell, the sleighbell in themselves protect against every kind of evil, see Chrysostomos: Ibid., p. 105.

233 As for the commands of silence, the shepherd must not talk about the
 784 breeding of the animals and the head man must not tell anyone until
 221 the last moment the date, hour and destination of a forthcoming seasonal migration. Thus no one can be envious or influence the animals with his
 (754) evil eye during these decisive stages of their lives (occasions of "transition").

789 From the therapeutic standpoint, an exorcism of the Church or a
 514 wound dressing made with human urine (85)
 233
 (171)

85. The use of blood and excrements in magic is well known and is found universally. Once more Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., p. 232 referring to Ph. Koukoules, M.P.G. 88, 1904, tells us that urine represented in the Byzantine epoch the vital force, here opposed to the force threatening life, that is to say, the evil eye. From all evidence the urine of man protects the animals because of the superiority of man over them.

and placed on a limb of the animal affected, are sufficient.

754 /280/ The lack of data on black magic, stressed at the beginning of this chapter, prevents us from speaking of it in detail. The little that we know about it allows us to understand that this magic is performed chiefly by casting a spell; an object belonging to the victim is usually indispensable for the sorcerer to show his power. Nevertheless, the sorcerer is very often able to make the necessary substances and figurines

/350 cont./

811 and their magic. But we have not examined it systematically. It is
[128] appropriate now to present some of the aspects of their knowledge
which have remained in shadow and which, together with what has gone
before, will permit a view of the totality of the problem.

* * * *

805 A first category of knowledge deals with the measurement and
division of time, by calendar and by the clock.

[111] In a general way the Sarakatsani follow the calendar of surrounding
805 society. However, among them the year is additionally divided into
221 two major periods determined by the seasonal migrations: the period of
233 the "plains" (chimadia) and that of the "mountains" (psilomata).

Phases in the life of the livestock likewise determine and characterize
certain periods of the year. Thus the Sarakatsani refer to the "time
of fecundation" (markalos), the "time of birth" (ghénnos), the "time
of milk" (ghalata--the period when milk is abundant), the "time of
shearing" (kouros), the "time of rotation" (aradhia--the period when milk
production has become minimal and when each of the participants of
the Tseligato takes turns milking all the ewes for his own use).

805 These divisions of the year, dictated in the end by work, are used
along with the divisions into months and weeks. But it is obvious that
the first have a "human" depth much more important than the second.

805 The religious holidays also represent some salient points that serve
796 as a pivot for the temporal placement of various events and phases of
life. The anniversaries of Saint George and Saint Demetrius, for example,
determine respectively the beginning of the period of summer and that of
winter.

805 The movements of the sun, the moon and some stars or constellations
821 serve, in turn, as a clock for the Sarakatsani. While during the day
the height of the sun in relation to the horizon marks the hours, during

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do not go far toward me-- the basic economic issues faced by the shepherd today.

As we talked with these shepherds, all of them dressed shabbily in patched trousers and coats and none of them in the traditional white kilt (*foustanella*), I realized again the inexorable push of social change. Americans by the hundreds in Greece were diligently and intelligently teaching Greek farmers how to improve their agricultural methods, how to make use of fallow land without losing its fertility, and even encouraging the plains farmers to keep more sheep or cows of their own for milk production. But to the degree that these sensible, reasoned programs succeed, to that extent the shepherds of the mountain villages face what we call in impersonal terms "occupational displacement."

These were my thoughts as I reflected on the experience of my acquaintances in Valtetsi and the shepherds from other Peloponnesian villages with whom I talked at many roadside stops. As background for their hesitant but sincere discussion of their problems is the recollection of the natural setting for our conversations: the brilliant bloom of wild flowers, the blue flax blossoms, the tender new green of the mulberry trees, the leaves pushing out from the gray fig trees standing in terraces on the mountainside, and the vineyards and olive groves stretching out far below, with the shimmering indigo sea off in the distance. Close at hand the earth looked stony and inhospitable to growing things, but always at a little distance the springtime colors caught the eye and made one glad to be in Greece. Now and then I found the shepherds themselves appreciatively viewing the scene around them while keeping a careful watch over their dusty, weary sheep which still had many miles ahead before reaching the succulent summer pastures. I had a feeling that these men on the move would be the first to agree that transhumance in the Peloponnesos, though beset with many problems and facing a clouded future, still had its compensations in the serene beauty of the land through which they walked.

THE "NOMADS" OF EPIRUS

I had no idea when I left the Peloponnesos and its sheep-filled roads that a month later I would be encountering the same kind of migration in Epirus, the rugged and legendary northwestern province of Greece.

There was one important difference between the shepherds whom I met in Epirus and those in the Peloponnesos. The latter, such as the people of Valtetsi, had been bona fide Greek rancher-peasants who just happened to live in mountain villages where transhumance was their basic adaptation to their environment. In Epirus the shepherds were "nomads," who from time immemorial have made their circuits through Albania, what is now Yugoslavia, southern Bulgaria, and Northern Greece.* They dress differently from the Greeks; their dwellings are very different; and some of them

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This was the cue for us to go outside and watch one of the girls weave on a loom set in a hole about two feet deep and covered with reeds at a height enabling the girl to crawl in for protection from the sun and weather. There in her little foxhole she shuttled away merrily, eagerly and proudly displaying her technique on the narrow brightly figured belt she was weaving. The knowledge that she must get together a big dowry of woven goods before she marries keeps her constantly working. She seemed to experience a certain sense of creativity, both in the pattern she evolved and in the finished product. At least, she had a skill that in the minds of the Sarakatsani set her off from the Karagouni.

Before we left, we talked to Konstantin again. "What is it like up in Kato Pethini?" we wondered. He told us that a few families still stayed there the year around. Often in the case of a large family the mother and children might stay below near the fields while the shepherd would take his eldest daughter up above to do his cooking and help with the sheep. Konstantin was a hired shepherd of the president of the village council up above, but he hoped some day to have a flock of his own.

This tendency of the Sarakatsani to turn to agriculture when land becomes available was evident in several places. An added incentive to settling may be the emphasis they have long placed upon education for their children. Earlier I had read accounts of large family groups of Sarakatsani of their own accord employing teachers to accompany them on their summer migrations so that the children would not be disadvantaged. When I was in the Lake Prespa area, where Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia come together, I learned from one of the junior Greek officers there that the Sarakatsani from St. Germanos, who practice transhumance, hire a teacher with their own funds to tutor their children while the regular school is not in session. For such people any visitor who looks even a little beneath the surface of their lives must feel a sense of amazement and respect. Down to what urban Westerners would term the barest level of existence — tiny dirt-floored reed huts, incessant work, and unceasing vigilance — like our early settlers on the edge of Indian territory, they show wit, intelligence, adaptability, and the desire for education, as well as a half-humorous detachment about the difficulties of their life. Fatigue, and a wish for better things are apparent; but bitterness and complaining are not.

One of the most enlightening and entertaining sessions on shepherd life in general took place in the office of George Sakellopoulos, the agricultural director for Epirus. This was in Ioannina, the picturesque provincial capital city. When the director learned of my interest in the nomads, he called together Nicos Mitrocostas, the president of the local shepherd's union, Leander Xenos, an agricultural-extension worker, and Christos Berates, a chief shepherd whose flocks were then passing through Ioannina on their way north.